

**THE HISTORY
OF
HUMAN MARRIAGE**

THE HISTORY OF HUMAN MARRIAGE

VOLUME SIX

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LOGOS PRESS, NEW DELHI

Printed & Published by:

LOGOS PRESS

Building No. 4788-90, Street No. 23, Ansari Road, Darya Ganj,
New Delhi-110 002 (India)

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INTRODUCTION

It is indeed an honour to have been asked to introduce a book that made publishing history when it first appeared in 1891. As a new initiate to the science of Anthropology I had an occasion to scan through this *Magnum Opus* in the late 1950s. I was greatly impressed by the encyclopaedic coverage and the scholarly treatment of the book. Rereading the book after a long gap of fifty years spent in teaching and research, when one has a better grasp of theory and methodology, is an altogether different experience. Of course, these years have seen a good deal of theoretical sophistication relative to the institutions of marriage and family, and yet this book has not lost its relevance. It is good that it is reproduced so that it will be available to the new generation of readers.



Using the comparative method, the author had visited enormous amount of data relative to several hundred tribes and communities concerning marriage related practices and had come up with significant theoretical formulations challenging several of the existing conclusions and theories. Not only did he review the ethnographies written by the pioneering anthropologists, who had lived among the primitives in distant lands, he also examined religious texts and scriptures of various denominations. Included among them, surprisingly, were also the *Manu Smriti*, *Parushar's Grihya Sutra* and the *Mahabharata* epic!! The book rivalled James Frazer's *The Golden Bough* as a significant bibliographical reference work and as a veritable encyclopaedia of information of a single institution. The book dealt not only with marriage, in a narrower sense of the term, but every aspect of heterosexuality—celibacy, incest, promiscuity, premarital sex, religious prostitution, monogamy, polygamy etc.

Authored by a young Finnish Anthropologist who learnt English at the ripe age of 25, the book appeared in print when he was just 29. The book had gone five printings. The Second Edition appeared in 1894, and the Third in 1901. The First edition was so well received that its translations soon appeared in German, Swedish, French, Italian, and Russian. The book attracted a good deal of debate and encouraged other scholars to develop alternative theories, but the author could not respond to them when the Third edition appeared, as he was engaged in anthropological research in Morocco. The fourth edition, published in 1911, did contain an appendix to update relevant information and also did respond to some of the criticisms. It was, however, the Fifth edition, brought out 30 years

after its first publication, in the year 1921, that the author made significant revisions and considerably enlarged the text spreading into three volumes. Preparation of this edition entailed a thorough revision of the entire text. Virtually all sentences were redone and several new passages and chapters were added. Thus, the Fifth edition can be regarded as a new book altogether. Previous editions were the work of a fresh Ph.D.; the Fifth edition bears the stamp of an established scholar, with considerable experience of fieldwork, and advantage of reading a good deal of relevant material. This is the reprint of the Fifth edition, coming out after 86 years. The original three volumes are, in this reprint, being reproduced in six volumes for logistic reasons. The content, however, remains unchanged.

In its elaborated form, for example, treatment of the phenomenon of *Jus Primae Noctis*¹—the right of the first night—covers 69 pages compared to the nine pages in the first edition. Similarly, marriage rites that were dismissed in thirteen pages in the first edition are given three full chapters with an increase of twelve times in the number of pages devoted to this topic. The enlarged version contains two chapters on polyandry and a separate chapter on group marriage. There is also detailed treatment of the influence of economic conditions in determining monogamy and polygyny. The bibliographic references in the enlarged version are spread in 100 pages. This figure may not surprise today's readers because the availability of search engines via the internet—e.g. Google—has made the task of the researchers and writers much easier; but imagine the travails of the author working in the 1920s without the aid of the computer, and perhaps using also a very primitive model of a typewriter. Westermarck deserves all the kudos for his industry, perseverance, and total dedication to such a scholarly pursuit.

It is important to note that the first edition of this book carried an Introductory Note by Alfred R. Wallace—a big name of those days as a naturalist, explorer, geographer, anthropologist, biologist, and a social reformer, all rolled into one personality of stature. Wallace was a contemporary of Charles Darwin, and his writings provided stimulus to Darwin for his work on evolutionary theory. He is known as father of biogeography. While Wallace became a defender for Darwin's work, *The Origin of Species*, the two scholars differed on the issue of survival.

1. The *jus primae noctis* was, in the late medieval European context, an ancient privilege of the lord of the manor to share the wedding bed with his peasants' brides. Symbolic gestures, reflecting this belief, were developed by the lords and used as humiliating signs of superiority over the dependent peasants in the 15th century, a time of diminishing status differences. It is not known whether actual intercourse occurred in the exercise of the alleged right. However, the symbolic gestures can be best interpreted as a male power display, coercive social dominance, male competition, and male desire for sexual variety. Through a serious library search Westermarck culled out accounts from several non-European cultures of a similar custom related to a young girl's first sexual intercourse: ritual defloration by chiefs, priests or strangers.

Darwin emphasised competition between members of the same species and promulgated the theory of the “survival of the fittest” and “struggle for existence”, while Wallace highlighted the importance of “adaptation” to the environment for survival. Like Darwin, Wallace had also undertaken long voyages to collect specimens of various species. He spent a good deal of time in the Malay Peninsula, and in Brazil. These scientific trips offered him the opportunity to come in contact with the savage cultures as well, and ignited him an interest in anthropology.

Westermarck grew in such an intellectual climate. All scholarly activity was geared towards reconstruction of the history of planet earth—its geology, its flora and fauna—the origin of various species and their development, and the history of mankind and of various civilizations. It is this interest that took scholars to distant lands and exposed them to literature on various societies around the world. Anthropology took birth in such a milieu. As the Science of Man, this discipline was interested in taking a holistic view by treating all aspects of Man—physical, social and cultural. The search of the origin of the biological Man took anthropologists closer to palaeontologists and led to the investigation of fossils. Discovery of abandoned human habitats necessitated study of the leftovers of material culture in the framework of prehistoric archaeology. Visits to the tribal areas sensitized them to the cultural differences and forms of social behaviour, which led some to reconstruct human history in evolutionary terms – placing various societies on a common evolutionary ladder. Westermarck grew in such a milieu.

II

Edward Alexander Westermarck was born on November 20, 1862 in Helsinki, Finland. After graduating from the Swedish Lyceum in 1881, Westermarck entered the University of Helsinki, from where he received his doctoral degree in 1890. By the age of 25, he had learnt English to be able to study the works of Darwin, Morgan, Lubbock, and McLennan in the original language. It is due to this exposure, and particularly the period he spent studying at the British Museum in 1887 that he wrote his dissertation *The Origins of Human Marriage*—the predecessor of this Opus. The instant scientific success of this work motivated Westermarck to devote his entire life to investigating the institution of marriage. He started as a lecturer in Sociology at the University of Helsinki (1890-1906) and then rose to become Professor of Moral and Practical Philosophy at the same university (1906-18). Between 1907 and 1930, he also served intermittently as Professor of Sociology at the University of London. He devoted several summer vacations to his investigations in Morocco. He moved to Turku in 1918, where he acted as Professor of Philosophy and Rector at Åbo Akademi — the Swedish-speaking university of Turku.

After his book on *The Origins of Human Marriage*, Westermarck published a two-volume book on *The Origin And Development Of Moral Ideas* (1906-08), which was an attempt to “scientificize” moral philosophy. He demonstrated that there is no absolute standard in morality. Regarding morality as a social phenomenon, Westermarck argued that moral judgments could be traced “to altruistic and objective feelings of approval and disapproval, according to social rewards”. He was against the view that moral judgments are universal facts or common to all people. They are a product of a long period of development, and ultimately based upon emotions, and vary in different individuals. In 1939, he published another philosophical work, *Christianity and Morals*, in which he opposed the view that the “modern world owes its scientific spirit to the extreme importance which Christianity assigned to the possession of truth, of *the truth*.” He also advocated tolerance towards homosexuality.² This book could not be published in Finnish until 1984, because of its radical views. As an aside, it may be noted that Westermarck himself never married; some people even alleged his homosexual orientation.

Westermarck did intensive fieldwork in Morocco, which he visited several times between the years 1897 and 1904. Based on these field visits he wrote: *Marriage Ceremonies In Morocco* (1914), *Ritual And Belief In Morocco* (1926), and *Wit And Wisdom In Morocco : A Study of Native Proverbs* (1930), and *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization* (1933). These works are rich in ethnographic details.

Westermarck died on September 9, 1939, in Tenhola.

So powerful was the impact of Westermarck in intellectual circles that in 1943, his admirers in England founded a Westermarck Society. In Finland, Westermarck’s work influenced a number of scholars—Rafael Karsten, Gunnar Landtman, Hilma Granqvist, Yrjö Hirn, and Rolf Lagerborg, among others. In Bernard Shaw’s play titled *Mam and Superman* a character called Violet is presented as a modern, self-conscious woman, who had read Westermarck! Noted French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss considered him “the last and most famous representative of the English Anthropological School; he embodied, with an exceptional, militant power, a current of thought which renewed our social and moral understanding, and out of which grew the first efforts to develop

2. This is what he wrote in the book: “Among mammals the male possesses useless nipples, which occasionally even develop into breasts, and the female possesses a clitoris, which is merely a rudimentary penis, and may also develop. So, too, a homosexual tendency may be regarded as simply the psychical manifestation of special characters of the other sex, susceptible of being evolved under certain circumstances, such as may occur about the age of puberty. Thus the sexual instinct of boys and girls shows plain signs of a homosexual tendency, and is often more or less undifferentiated. When facts of this kind become more commonly known, they can scarcely fail to influence public opinion about homosexuality.”

a comprehensive description of mankind.” Lévi-Strauss, applauded Westermarck for the courage he had shown to contradict the giants of his time in the following manner: “[O]ne can never insist enough on the importance of the step which Westermarck took to free sociology by eliminating the theory of promiscuity, which had been interposed like a distorting filter between primitive psychology and our own”.³

III

The intellectual debate of the Nineteenth Century was characterised by differing emphases on heredity and on environment—not only the physical environment but also the social environment, that is, culture. It is in such a context that Wallace became famous for his essay on “The Origin of the Human Races and the Antiquity of Man”, published in 1864. Wallace did not believe in “Social Darwinism” as he thought that social living makes people very corrupt, and thus natural processes of evolution get disrupted.

For Westermarck—a young and fresh Ph.D.—it must have been an exhilarating feeling that Wallace did the proof reading of his book at the request of the publishers. The publishers also approached Wallace to do the Introduction, which he gladly accepted. Wallace admitted after reading the manuscript that he “...seldom read a more thorough or a more philosophic discussion of some of the most difficult, and at the same time interesting problems of anthropology.” Comparing his work as that of a “hitherto unknown student” with “an array of authority” such as Darwin, Spencer, Morgan, and Lubbock, Wallace recognised the point that the challenges offered to the well-established conclusions of these scholars will have little chance of success. “Yet I venture to anticipate that the verdict of independent thinkers will, on most of these disputed points, be in favour of the newcomer who has so boldly challenged the conclusions of some of our most esteemed writers. Even those whose views are here opposed, will, I think, acknowledge that Mr. Westermarck is a careful investigator and an acute reasoner, and that his arguments as well as his conclusions are worthy of the most careful consideration”.

It must be said that late nineteenth century was the period when Marxism was on ascent as an ideology. It was also the time when evolutionary theories gained currency in the academe. Influenced by evolutionary theory in natural sciences, anthropologists of that era were also engaged in conjecturing about

3. “The work of Edward Westermarck”, translated by A. Stroup & T. Stroup. In Stroup, T., ed. 1982. *Edward Westermarck: Essays on His Life and Works. Acta Philosophica Fennica*, vol.

34. Originally published in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 129, nos. 1 & 2-3 (January-June 1945): 84-100.

the origin of Man and the evolution of social institutions. These theorists regarded monogamy as the trait of the most advanced societies and suggested that this institution evolved from the earliest stage of promiscuity, as was seen apparently among the infra-human animals. Liberal thinkers opposing Marxian theory and predictions were also making important scholarly contributions to present opposing views. Social scientists are all familiar with the work of Max Weber whose writings on religion—Protestant Ethic, or Hinduism -- were, in the main, directed to oppose Marxist assumptions. If the letter ‘M’ indicated Marxist view, the letter ‘W’—obverse of M—represented Weberian stand.

One can put Westermarck’s present work in the same terrain. He opposed the view, with remarkable array of documentary evidence and solid logical reasoning, that promiscuity marked the beginnings of Human civilization. Stray instances of superficial promiscuity and some other practices indicative of communal sharing had prompted earlier scholars—such as, Lewis Henry Morgan—to suggest that most primitive societies practised some sort of communism. Those opposing the communist ideology took great pains in contradicting these assertions. We are familiar with Malinowski’s work among the Melanesians on *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* in which he demonstrated how the concept of private property worked among the fishermen, and in the *Kula* trade involving a group of tribal societies living in the Pacific islands. Westermarck, similarly, questioned the promiscuity assumption and offered several examples to support his view.

Westermarck emphasised on the biological bases of emotions and of social relations. He took great pains to bring biology and sociology closer. On the one hand, he did intensive fieldwork for a number of years in Morocco—that resulted in a number of significant publications relative to marriage, rituals, and morals; on the other hand, he engaged himself in the task of developing and promoting comparative method in Anthropology, by working at a global level. The holistic approach followed in ethnographic research certainly had its advantages in understanding the culture of the group being studied, but it could not be a substitute for the development of a universally applicable theory of human behaviour. The comparative method provided a way out to develop generalizations at the level of human civilization as a whole. The long Introduction to this set of volumes is devoted to the explication of the comparative method, and it is a must-read. It is a brilliant exposé of all aspects of the methodology of comparative research. No doubt, Westermarck was criticised by his contemporaries for departing from the holistic and microcosmic approach. But he defended his comparative method and suggested combining the best parts of the two traditions in his Huxley Memorial Lecture on “Methods in social anthropology”. This Lecture was published in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (Vol. 66; 1936, July-December, pp. 223-48).

While emphasising the value of comparative method, Westermarck did not forget to point out its pitfalls. He was also critical of those who ignored the role of biological factors in social formulations. "It was a great defect of earlier treatises", he said, "on marriage that the biological aspect of the problem was entirely ignored, and even now it is not sufficiently recognised". He used the biological dimension in disregarding the theory of promiscuity as the early stage of marriage in terms of a unilinear theory of evolution. Similarly, he advocated restraint in interpreting data. "There is a tendency to assume that similar customs, rites, and practices by different peoples, have their roots in similar ideas, and, although this tendency is easy to explain and very often results in accurate classifications, it is also apt to lead to ill-founded or erroneous conclusions". He was hinting at the tendency to classify facts under wrong headings "on account of external resemblances with other facts." One acid test of commonality, according to him, is when "two independent visitors to different countries agree in describing some analogous art or rite or myth among the people they visited."

Westermarck rigorously employed these criteria in his comparative research on Marriage. His chapters, for example, on Exogamy and Endogamy provide examples from a wide variety of societies and cultures—primitive and modern—to communicate to the reader the range of similarities and differences that exist. Rules governing endogamy operate in several contexts but how they help define the boundaries of caste are so clearly shown that one can easily see the beginnings of a good sociological definition of caste in Westermarck's writings. He had familiarity with data drawn from various castes and tribes⁴ in India. And his treatment is structural rather than Indological. For students of Caste, I would specifically recommend these chapters.

IV

The fact that this work was done in the early years of the twentieth century does not minimise its importance as a classic even today. The book is an enormous storehouse of information on the institution of marriage. It is a grand illustration of the utility of the comparative method for theory building. With its reprint, it will now be available to the new libraries, and hopefully it would attract new readership.

Yogesh Atal

4. He quotes examples from Gonds, Tottiyar (Tamil cultivators), Todas, Irulas, Bhotias, Nayadis, Koracha, Kappilyans, Kasubas, Madas of Mysore, and Oraons.

PREFACE

During the thirty years which have passed since the publication of the first edition of the present work the study of marriage and matters connected with it, especially among the lower races, has made such progress that I have found it necessary to reconsider the whole subject. Many new facts have been incorporated, and some old ones have been omitted. Various aspects of marriage, which were previously dealt with very inadequately or hardly touched upon, have been discussed at length. Objections raised by critics have been carefully considered. The old theories have been in some cases strengthened but in other cases modified. New theories set forth by other writers have been scrutinised. The matter has in many points been rearranged; and the book has been rewritten throughout to such an extent that very few sentences of the earlier editions have remained unchanged.

Only some of the changes can be here briefly indicated. A new introductory chapter on method, largely dealing with problems of recent growth, has taken the place of the old one. The statements quoted by certain writers as evidence of peoples living in a state of promiscuity have been more carefully examined, and the customs which have been represented as survivals of such a state in the past have been more fully discussed. Thus the subjects of the *jus primae noctis*, religious prostitution, and the lending or exchange of wives now occupy sixty-nine pages instead of nine. In the treatment of the classificatory system of relationship the recent contributions to the subject, which largely tend to confirm my old views, have been taken notice of. In the discussion of the marriage age and certain other matters more attention has been paid to the laws of civilised countries. Religious celibacy and sexual modesty have each got a special chapter. The origin of female coyness has been discussed. With reference to the secondary sexual characters a suggestion has been made which, if correct, brings the sexual colours, odours, and sounds of animals into the closest possible analogy with the colours and odours of the flowers of plants. In the chapters on primitive means of attraction the older theories, though in some measure supported by new evidence, have in certain points been modified in accordance with the results of later research. A more thorough investigation of the exogamous rules has confirmed my belief in the substantial accuracy of my earlier theory as to their origin; and I hope that the restatement of it, in which the objections of critics have been taken into consideration, has made it more acceptable. The chapters on marriage by capture and marriage by consideration, together with kindred subjects, contain copious additions and changes.

The extremely defective treatment of marriage rites, which covered thirteen pages only, has been replaced by three chapters of more than twelve times that length; but for a study of the marriage ritual as a sequence I must refer the reader to my book *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*. In the course of my six years' research in Morocco, and through books like *The Mystic Rose* and *The Golden Bough*, I have become aware of the enormous influence of magical beliefs on marriage rites; whereas the value of these rites for the study of earlier forms of marriage now seems to me to be even less than I thought before. I am grateful to the distinguished reviewer of the first edition of this work who expressed the belief that if its author had been a student of folklore he would in various cases have arrived at different conclusions. It drew my attention to a defect which I have since then endeavoured to remedy; but my conceptions of the earlier history of marriage have not been essentially changed thereby.

In my discussion of monogamy and polygyny, and in many other sections of the book as well, I have considered the influence which economic conditions have exercised upon marriage, a point which was also greatly neglected in the earlier editions. Polyandry, which was dealt with on a few pages, now forms the subject-matter of two whole chapters; and the question of group-marriage, which of late has much occupied the minds of sociologists, has been discussed in a chapter by itself. The treatment of divorce is much more detailed, both as regards the history of the subject and the present legislation on it. The list of authorities quoted has increased from thirty pages to over a hundred; and the work as a whole has been expanded from one volume into Six. In short, it is a new work much rather than a new edition.

At the same time, amidst all the changes, the general character, as well as the structure, of the book has remained unchanged. The criticism passed on it has not essentially affected either its method or its fundamental ideas. This may perhaps be due to the fact that, although I opposed many theories in vogue at the time when the book was first written and the method which had led to them, my decision to write it did not spring from a desire for opposition. On the contrary, I commenced my work as a faithful adherent of the theory of primitive promiscuity and tried to discover fresh evidence for it in customs which I thought might be interpreted as survivals from a time when individual marriage did not exist. I had not proceeded far, however, when I found that I was on the wrong track. I perceived that marriage must primarily be studied in its connection with biological conditions, and that the tendency to interpret all sorts of customs as social survivals, without a careful examination into their existing environment, is apt to lead to the most arbitrary conclusions. Later treatises on the subject have only confirmed this conviction; and the present revival of the old method is not, in my opinion, likely to yield lasting results.

I am indebted to the Press and public both in this country and elsewhere for the encouraging interest they have taken during all these years in the work of my youth; to the earlier translations of it have been added subsequent ones into Spanish and Japanese. I am again under obligation to friends and correspondents for valuable advice and information. The largest part of the material has been collected in the Reading Room of the British Museum, and I take this opportunity to thank its officials for their unfailing courtesy.

Woodman's Cottage,
Boxhill, Surrey

E.W.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

I need scarcely say how fully I appreciate the honour of being introduced to English readers by Mr. Alfred R. Wallace. I am also greatly obliged for his kindness in reading the proofs, and in giving me the benefit of his advice with regard to various parts of the subject.

It is difficult for me to acknowledge sufficiently my obligations to Mr. James Sime for his assistance in preparing this book for the press. The work, as originally written, naturally contained a good many foreign modes of expression. Mr. Sime has been indefatigable in helping me to improve the form of the text; and, in our discussions on the main lines of the argument, he has made several important suggestions. I am sincerely obliged for the invaluable aid he has given me.

My cordial thanks are due to Mr. Charles J. Cooke, British Vice-Consul at Helsingfors, who most kindly aided me in writing the first part of the book in a tongue which is not my own. I am indebted also to Dr. E. B. Tylor, Professor G. Croom Robertson, Mr. James Sully, and Dr. W. C. Coupland for much encouraging interest; to Mr. Joseph Jacobs for the readiness with which he has placed at my disposal some results of his own researches; and to several gentlemen in different parts of the world who have been so good as to respond to my inquiries as to their personal observation of various classes of phenomena connected with marriage among savage tribes. The information I have received from them is acknowledged in the passages in which it is used.

A list of authorities is given at the end of the book—between the text and the index,—and it may be well to add that the references in the notes have been carefully verified.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

In this new edition of my book I have made no essential changes, but here and there the argument has been strengthened by the addition of facts which have come to my knowledge since the appearance of the first edition. The most important of these new facts will be found in the second chapter.

I take this opportunity of expressing my warm appreciation of the thorough way in which the ideas set forth in this book have been discussed by many critics in England and elsewhere. Translations of the work have appeared, or are about to appear, in German, Swedish, French, Italian, and Russian.

London, January 1894

E.W.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

I much regret that the demand for a new edition of this book should come at a time when circumstances prevent me from undertaking such a revision of the work as I feel to be required. Since the appearance of the Second Edition many important facts bearing upon the subject have been brought to light, new theories have been advanced, and old theories, supported by fresh arguments, have been revived. To all this, however, I can do no justice, as I am at present being engaged in anthropological research in Morocco. This edition is, in consequence, a mere reprint of the second. But I purpose, after my return to Europe, to issue an Appendix, in which the book will be brought more up to date and some criticism will be replied to.

Mogador (Morocco)
August 1901

E.W.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE FIRST EDITION

ALFRED R. WALLACE

Having read the proofs of Mr. Westermarck's book I am asked by the publishers to say a few words by way of introducing the work to English readers. This I have great pleasure in doing, because I have seldom read a more thorough or a more philosophic discussion of some of the most difficult, and at the same time interesting, problems of anthropology.

The origin and development of human marriage have been discussed by such eminent writers as Darwin, Spencer, Morgan, Lubbock, and many others. On some of the more important questions involved in it all these writers are in general accord, and this agreement has led to their opinions being widely accepted as if they were well-established conclusions of science. But on several of these points Mr. Westermarck has arrived at different, and sometimes diametrically opposite, conclusions, and he has done so after a most complete and painstaking investigation of all the available facts.

With such an array of authority on the one side and a hitherto unknown student on the other, it will certainly be thought that all the probabilities are against the latter. Yet I venture to anticipate that the verdict of independent thinkers will, on most of these disputed points, be in favour of the new comer who has so boldly challenged the conclusions of some of our most esteemed writers. Even those whose views are here opposed, will, I think, acknowledge that Mr. Westermarck is a careful investigator and an acute reasoner, and that his arguments as well as his conclusions are worthy of the most careful consideration.

I would also call attention to his ingenious and philosophical explanation of the repugnance to marriage between near relatives which is so very general both among savage and civilised man, and as to the causes of which there has been great diversity of opinion; and to his valuable suggestions on the general question of sexual selection, in which he furnishes an original argument against Darwin's views on the point, differing somewhat from my own though in general harmony with it.

Every reader of the work will admire its clearness of style, and the wonderful command of what is to the author a foreign language.

Publisher's Note

It is our great pleasure to publish *The History of Human Marriage* in six volumes. Written by well known Finnish anthropologist Edward Westermarck, it first appeared in 1891. Subsequently, the book had gone five printings. But for a long time it was out of print.

The book provides encyclopaedic information on the institution of marriage. It deals not only with marriage, in a narrow sense of the term, but every aspect of heterosexuality—celibacy, incest, promiscuity, premarital sex, religious prostitution, monogamy and polygamy. It is a grand illustration of the utility of the comparative method for theory building. It also has a new Introduction written by India's highly acclaimed social scientist, Prof. Yogesh Atal, who retired as the Principal Director of UNESCO with its reprint, we hope, it will serve the scholarly world.

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